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## Resist Newsletter, Jan. 1982

Resist

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# RESIST

January 1982 — 38 Union Square, Somerville, Mass. 02143 — Newsletter #145

*a call to resist illegitimate authority*

## THE STRUGGLE FOR "POLAND"

To write about Poland in mid-December, just two days after the declaration of martial law, and to know that several weeks will pass before these words are read, is like sealing a message in a bottle and casting it into the sea. Who knows what kind of world will receive this message: will it wash up on familiar shores or in a land changed utterly by the passage of time?

Whatever the course of events in Poland, a struggle is about to ensue in the United States over the lessons of the Polish experiments, of Solidarity, and the meaning of its suppression. We can anticipate that the right will interpret the events in Poland solely in terms of anti-communism, and as a national struggle between the Polish people and the Soviet Union. It will be left to us to stress the real social content of Solidarity's program: genuinely free trade unions; real worker participation in the management of the economy and society; the right to strike and the use of the strike weapon in support of other struggles, whether economic or political; the abolition of privilege and corruption; and national independence. One of the most practical things we can do is to publicize the *real* program of Solidarity and the Polish workers, and where appropriate demand these things for ourselves as well.

We can also predict that the Reagan administration will use the Polish crisis in an attempt to re-unify the US around an oppressive and militaristic program. "Poland" will be the justification for ending disarmament talks, for going ahead with the cruise and Pershing II missiles in Europe, for continuing draft registration, and for moving against Libya, Cuba and the revolutionary movements in Central America. "Poland" will be used to persuade Europe that the world is divided into two armed camps, no neutrals allowed. "Poland" will be the justification for further social service cuts, for unleashing the CIA, for a closer alliance with South Africa, and for concentrating more power in the executive branch of government.

We owe the Polish people much. They have shown us that a united populace can change even the most repressive government; that official "socialism" is not the limit of what people want, and that we can dream greater dreams; that the experience of the working class itself is sufficient preparation for running society, and that no "experts" are needed for people to make up their minds on the main questions facing us. We can best repay these and other debts to Poland by opposing the obscenity of a military buildup in the name of Solidarity, a movement which wanted only peace and freedom for all.

## THE WOMEN'S PENTAGON ACTION

KATE CLOUD

On November 15 and 16, 1981, 3000 women expressed their grief and rage, their defiance and their vision at the second Women's Pentagon Action. It was a gathering of women drawn together by a radical and comprehensive Statement of Unity, which targets the Pentagon "because it is the workplace of the imperial power which threatens us all." The Unity Statement calls for nothing less than the transformation of society: "There can be no peace while one race dominates another, one people, one nation, one sex despises each other."

The Women's Pentagon Action was a dramatic illustration of the power and potential of feminists dedicated to waging peace. The chants, banners and conversations revealed a group deeply influenced by the women's movement and women's history. The demonstrators were in united and uncompromising opposition to a social system based on power and possession, held in place by violence and intimidation. There were no movement "stars" or long speeches during the two days of workshops, marches and demonstrations. The emphasis was on action.

In Boston, planning for the Action began in early October. We set short-term goals for ourselves: to speak out about our reasons for traveling to the Pentagon, to provide low cost transportation for all women who needed it, and to support women who intended to commit non-violent civil disobedience.

Three days before the Action, we held a women's forum. We invited Boston area women to share their concerns with us, to tell us what messages they wanted us to bring to the Pentagon. Over 60 women attended the forum. Each of us introduced herself, and had an opportunity to speak for a few minutes.

Some of us spoke of last year's Action, and what it had meant to us. One woman said that the gathering at the Pentagon helps us to crystallize a political perspective of feminist anti-militarism. A women's health activist said that the Action had been a special and empowering experience for her. This year, she said, she planned to celebrate her fiftieth birthday at the Pentagon.

Several women told us that they had come to the forum because they were terrified of "what Reagan might do". The demonstration should express our

(continued on page 2)



solidarity with the European disarmament movement, someone said. We need to understand the struggles of Latin American women, said another, and the US government's role in maintaining their oppression. We spoke of poverty, and the slashing of social programs and human services in contrast to the orgy of military spending. We talked about reproductive rights, and the links between women's health issues and nuclear hazards. We discussed the Human Life Amendment and the fascist social controls which threaten us.

"I'm 36 years old," one woman said, "and I've never done anything political. I don't even know how to vote." She explained quietly that she had been raped recently, and the experience had heightened her anger, and her determination to act.

We talked about violence against women, racism in society and in ourselves, genocide. Again and again we reminded ourselves that our symbolic protest would develop in significance only if we live out our politics in our lives.

In an atmosphere of mutual respect, we shared knowledge, warnings, visions. Remember the thirteen black women murdered in Boston two years ago... think about capitalism; what is the Pentagon protecting with those big guns?... remember our Third World sisters, victims of corporate dumping and vicious exploitation... we must start with the children, teach them peace, empower them... heal the planet!... express our spiritual imagination... remember the strontium 90 in every mother's milk... remember Hiroshima.

November 16, 1981

"We women are gathering because life on the precipice is intolerable."

We met at 7 AM on Monday morning, about a half a mile from Arlington National Cemetery. We marched to the big military graveyard, escorted by police in cars, on motorcycles, on foot and on horseback. "Communists!", a passing motorist snarled at us.

While we were walking quietly through Arlington Cemetery, we heard the startling sound of guns firing, slowly in deadly cadence. A 21-gun salute? A burial?

We created our own graveyard on the parade ground in front of the Pentagon. The headstones we planted in the group were memorials to sisters, mothers and daughters victimized by violence. Some of us mourned silently and many cried as we read the inscriptions — Yolanda Ward... Karen Silkwood... Maria Valdez. Died of a Coat-Hanger Abortion. 1963... Anne Frank... Harriet Tubman... Marilyn Munroe. Sex Object and Suicide... The Murdered Women of Argentina... The Unknown Woman...

Grief turned to anger. Raging against the global terrorism of the war machine, we moved toward the Pentagon. Someone had thrown blood at the Dept. of Defense plaque. Bright red blood dripped down the Pentagon walls.

We encircled the Pentagon, passing yarn and long strips of cloth hand over hand, winding a braid that stretched around the massive 5-sided building.

Women began to block the entrances. Some sat down

in front of the doors. Others wove brightly colored webs of yarn and material across passageways. 107 women were arrested for peaceful acts of civil disobedience. Men in fancy uniforms heard women calling out, "think about your children, your grandchildren," "shame, shame," and "take the toys away from the boys." On this day, the colonels and generals who are planning our annihilation were forced to slow down, hear our voices, meet our eyes.

It was a vivid demonstration — with symbolic costumes, evocative rituals, the imagination and pageantry of thousands of women participating in feminist street theater. The women who demonstrated at the Pentagon have sheltered battered sisters, lost sons to wars, lost children to cancer. Most of us had never met before, and might never meet again, yet we moved throughout the day in solidarity. We looked in each others' eyes and knew that we shared a deep grief and a raging anger.

"No more amazing inventions for death," we said. The personal is political. We know we're at war, and we take it personally.

The Women's Pentagon Action reminded the peace movement that there will be no peace while one sex dominates another, and it reminded feminists that survival is a women's as well as a people's issue. The women's movement and herstory offer a unique perspective on the nature of violence and domination. We know that rape is not just random violence, and we don't view the nuclear racket as protection.

In fact, there are few women in the world who feel protected and secure. Females make up the majority of the poor, the illiterate, the refugees. In the United States, our reproductive rights are threatened; in many places, women have never experienced freedom of choice in sexual or reproductive matters. Women are subject to violence and intimidation in our homes and in the streets. Our bodies and our lives are on the front lines in the struggle for survival.

Most women, working hard to protect and nurture life, are frightened and alienated by men who think in terms of destructive capacity. The making of wars has never been women's domain; as a group, women are not invested in the militarism of the dominant culture.

Feminists have an invaluable contribution to make in the war (as Yoko Ono put it recently) between peace and insanity. The international movement towards women's liberation continues to develop in response to the stirrings of women everywhere. Through our networks and connections and consciousness-raising, feminists can respond directly to our sisters' precarious position, — as women facing backlash and oppression, and as living beings facing nuclear extermination.

The Women's Pentagon Action expressed a global vision and a determination to end the obscenity of racist, woman hating, death wish governments. If reporters were sometimes confused by the multitude of issues raised, participants were not. Our intention was clear: we demonstrated to affirm our right to life and love, and to dramatise and support the rising resistance of our sisters.

*Kate Cloud is a member of the Resist board.*



# REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS

## REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS AND THE PEACE MOVEMENT

DOROTHY MARTIN

Is the issue of reproductive freedom for women a distraction for the peace movement or a necessary component of it? Does asking this question simply raise the old debate about "single-issue vs. multi-issue organizing," or is reproductive rights a subject whose importance is so fundamental that the peace movement needs to actively support it in order to work effectively? While part of this consideration brings up the question of alliances and will be dealt with separately (see p. 5), it is important to first address the question of what is the movement for reproductive rights, how does it fit into a strategy for achieving peace and social justice, and what are the connections between the opponents of reproductive freedom and the architects of war?

The New Right is in the midst of a well-organized attack against women, sexuality, and poor people. The demand for reproductive freedom is a direct challenge to right-wing propaganda and repression; it is also an expansive way of thinking about equality. By looking at how reproductive restrictions are part of a larger plan for worldwide control, we can appreciate the relationship between reproductive rights and the struggle for peace. What will follow is an outline of how the fight for reproductive freedom challenges conservative-reactionary attempts to revive patriarchal domination, an update on legislative examples of those attempts, and more about how it all affects the peace movement.

Some introduction to the principles of the Reproductive Rights National Network (R2N2) will help explain the scope of reproductive rights. R2N2 is a network of local activist groups doing work around abortion and reproductive rights. It strives for the more obvious aspects of reproductive freedom, "including not only abortion rights, freedom from sterilization abuse, but also good, safe birth control, sex education in the schools, the right to conduct one's own sex life as one chooses, and an end to nuclear, chemical, and occupational hazards to our reproductive systems." These considerations, beginning with and stressing good sex education, are basic to assuring reproductive control for women. However, these rights must be seen in a more general social context, recognizing that "reproductive freedom depends on economics: equal wages for women, sufficient to support a family; a decent public health system; adequate welfare benefits; good housing; quality childcare; and a public school system that meets the children's needs."

These requirements for social equality were not thought up in a vacuum, and until recently did not seem

to be so far away. Before Reagan and the New Right came into power, some progress had been made in areas like the welfare system, occupational safety, and the 1973 Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion. And as flimsy as it was, Carter's support for the ERA left room for hope.

### ATTACK FROM THE RIGHT

Now we are faced with the anti-feminist backlash, part of the same violence that supports militarism. The New Right is trying to force women off welfare, out of the labor force, and back to housework, while flexing its all-American muscle in foreign policies. There is a calculated strategy in stripping away welfare benefits and closing hospitals, in order to beef up military spending to the tune of \$200 billion — the largest peacetime military budget in history.

The drive to reimpose patriarchal rule publicly and privately is a harsh reality. However, it is masked by a fanciful notion of America returning to a lifestyle which never really existed. The right-wing version of utopia is supposed to perpetuate the ideal of the nuclear family, while blaming feminism for the failure of that ideal. The myth of bygone innocence and perfection is a manipulative attempt to recapture a vision of women staying in the home, provided for and protected by their husbands, who in return are entitled to the special comfort and sacrifice which only a true and virtuous wife and mother is capable of. While it may be an obsolete deception, this tactic seems to have some mileage left. Blaming the women's movement and the welfare system for economic disaster and exploitation is a way of excusing endless budget cuts and imposed personal sacrifices. For people who are struggling to get by and don't want to think about their own unhappiness, or disempowerment, or how dreadful nuclear war or any other war would be, the myth offers a hope, however empty.

The New Right's main concern about women seems to be how to deal with their outright sexuality. The fact that conservative, moralistic people are publicly obsessing about sexual issues raises wonder and then suspicion. What seems to be happening is that the right-wingers have real fears about getting these reproductive, sexual, and sinful matters back under control, in the privacy of the home where they belong. They seem to consider it their duty to protect the general public from sexual concerns by stifling the women and young people who are shaking the status quo up by thinking out loud about what is healthy and pleasurable about sexuality.

Traditional religion has been very cooperative in the reactionary attack on sexual openness. The Church has historically discouraged pleasures of the flesh and connected sexuality to shame and guilt. In his most recent proclamation on this issue, the Pope not only restated the Church's opposition to birth control and abortion, but condemned sexual pleasure in marriage as being



degrading and lustful. The Church, like the New Right, represses and privatizes sexuality.

One of the more organized ways of trying to privatize sex and restrict women's rights has been through legislation. Although attempts to reverse abortion and affirmative action laws have increased over the past year, anti-woman legislation has been in motion much longer. Since 1977 the use of federal funds to provide abortions for medicaid recipients has been dramatically diminished by a series of amendments. Finally last summer, Congress voted to withdraw medicaid funding from all abortions except to save a woman's life. Amendments removing restrictions in cases of rape or incest were voted down. Supporters of the legislation regarded the rape and incest "loophole" as a convenient excuse used by women.

The medicaid decision particularly discriminates against poor women who can't afford medical care. Those who live in states which likewise restrict abortion funding must choose between illegal abortion or bearing unwanted children. At present only twelve states fund abortion. This means that many women are turning to sterilization as a means of birth control. The Chicago Public Aid Department, for example, reported that the state paid for a record number of sterilizations in 1980 — 6219, compared with 3625 in 1975. In the first half of 1981, 2857 sterilizations were performed. Since abortion regulations took effect the state has funded 10 abortions (in the first half of 1981), compared with 5927 in 1980.

#### LEGISLATIVE UPDATE

Further implications of the medicaid law and other legislative proposals concerning abortion are extremely alarming. During the first week of the 1981 Congress, a total of sixteen anti-abortion amendments were introduced. Several more bills have subsequently been proposed. The controversial Human Life Amendment has been put on hold for now.

The language of the proposed amendment states that "present scientific evidence indicates a significant likelihood" that human life begins at conception. Support was lost when the medical community could not agree to endorse this presumption. A compromise bill was, therefore, presented by Senator Orrin Hatch (R-UT); its purpose is to give Congress and the states the power to restrict and prohibit abortion, transferring power away from the courts. However, no state would be allowed to have less restrictions than the federal law. The bill is seen as an unacceptable compromise by the most ardent "right-to-life" groups, but has won support from the Catholic Bishops. Hatch's stated purpose is that once people get used to the idea of illegal abortion, a full fetal personhood amendment will be possible.

There are many blatantly pathological aspects to abortion restrictions. Along with denying women reproductive self-determination, these laws and possible laws condemn them to the life-threatening dangers of illegal abortion. Since no contraceptive methods are totally reliable, legislation would not remove the need for, or the reality of, abortion. Illegal abortions would result in a mortality rate more than nine times that of legal abortions. How peculiar that the same Congress whose

"pro-lifers" are proposing fetal rights at the expense of women's lives is simultaneously restricting health and educational programs for children who are already born!

Many other proposed laws point to the fact that reproductive rights and sexuality in general are seen by conservatives as major threats to internal American "stability." While the government is eagerly preparing for battle and foreign attack, supporters of the New Right are pretending to clean up the nation at home. They have prepared a series of family laws whose main target is sexuality, while it supports other forms of discrimination. Some of these laws include:

- The Family Protection Act — This is a diverse collection of New Right beliefs, portions of which have already been passed. They include the prohibition of federally funded legal services for gay rights; advocating school prayer; withholding funds for busing; and prohibiting sex education.

- The Adolescent Family Life Act, more commonly known as the "chastity" bill — A sum of \$30 million has been set aside to develop a program that would figure out how to force teenagers to abstain from sexual relations. The money is being transferred from existing contraceptive counseling programs.

- The Ashbrook Bill — This bans the federal employee health insurance program from paying for abortions except in life-threatening situations. Ten million government workers and their dependents would be affected. Peace Corps volunteers and military personnel have already been cut-off.

- Parental Consent — This requires that a physician notify a minor's parents or guardian before performing her abortion. Variations exist from state to state. In Massachusetts the number of teenagers getting abortions has dropped by almost half since the law was enacted in April. Presumably teenage girls with money are going out of state for abortions, while poor teenagers are continuing their pregnancies.

#### CONCLUSION

These examples of repression demonstrate that the Right does not have a healthy plan for improving the role of women or the conditions in which we all live. We are not becoming more secure by building more nukes. The outdated solutions of the Right are leftovers from a fictionalized time. Worse than that they are decayed and destructive. Not only do they advocate bondage for women, the denial of sexuality in general and the criminalization of homosexuality, but each day they prepare a more elaborate, deliberate picture of the demise of the planet.

In the meantime, a viable alternative for survival and growth has been developing in the women's movement. Its recent history is powerful. Many women and men have already been deeply affected and changed by feminist thought and activity. Often women have been and will probably still be more receptive to these changes — they have more to lose by hanging on to empty dreams. But as more people begin to realize the trade-offs and deprivation that is being imposed by the Right, we need to hope that they will be more willing to



replace myths with responsible action.

If anti-feminism and militarism are fundamentally tied together and needing to be confronted in a total way, then we need to ask what are the implications for the peace movement. We need to consider how the peace movement and the reproductive rights network can develop a cooperative response to the Right. One of those ways is to refuse to keep reproductive issues and sexuality cloaked in silence and guilt. We need to reconsider and reevaluate all over again what the women's movement has taught us about personalizing our politics.

## THE QUESTION OF ALLIANCES

FRANK BRODHEAD

In mid-November the National Conference of Catholic Bishops issued a strong statement opposing the use of nuclear weapons and urging the US to take disarmament initiatives. The statement of the conference followed a period in which more than 20 "peace bishops" had spoken out against nuclear war or arms programs such as the B-1 bomber, the neutron bomb, or the MX missile. Rejecting the traditional Catholic doctrine of "just war" as inapplicable in the nuclear age, the Conference's report developed new guidelines for Catholics in the military and a new church position on the morality of nuclear war. While this new orientation of the Church is to be welcomed by the peace movement, it also raised important questions of alliances and coalitions, and specifically the role of reproductive rights in the peace movement.

The anti-nuclear position of the Church has been developing rapidly and will certainly get stronger in the months ahead. Activists in the peace movement are suddenly confronted with the possibility that the enormous resources of the Church — its institutional structure, its money and active workers, and particularly its "legitimizing" influence — will launch the peace movement into a higher orbit, as the participation of the churches has helped to do for the European peace movement. While liberal Protestant denominations have also been increasingly vocal in speaking out against the arms race and nuclear weapons, the active support of the Catholic Church in the peace movement also means that white urban ethnic communities, largely closed to the peace movement and an important source of white working class support for Reagan's policies, might now become more open to us.

Yet the same Bishop's Conference which took this historic stand against nuclear war also voted overwhelmingly to support the Hatch Amendment, and reaffirmed its commitment to the anti-abortion struggle. The developments in the Church, therefore, raise an important problem for the peace movement. Many peace organizations are on record as supporting reproductive freedom and the right to abortion. Most

peace movement activists support the right to abortion, and many feminists are active in the peace movement. Women, moreover, are far more inclined to oppose the arms race and the nuclear buildup than men; and a large majority of women (as well as men) support a pro-choice position on abortion.

The peace movement will soon have to choose, therefore, what kind of relationship it wants with the most powerful institution supporting the attack on reproductive rights. Organizations will have to choose whether or not reproductive rights is an appropriate issue for the peace movement, whether alliances or coalitions should be built which would prohibit raising the issue of reproductive rights within them, and what kind of relationship to have with important church leaders who are publicly identified with positions opposing both nuclear weapons and abortion rights.

### ABORTION AND THE LEFT

About a year ago publications such as *WIN*, *In These Times*, and *The Progressive* took note of the existence of an anti-abortion, anti-nuclear current in the peace movement, and opened their pages to a debate on the abortion issue. Anti-abortion writers claimed that abortion was anti-feminist (helping men avoid responsibility for their actions), anti-working class (pacifying poor women rather than encouraging them to fight their oppressive conditions), and a "threshold issue" possibly leading to infanticide, euthanasia, etc. The major argument, of course, was that the fertilized egg was a "person;" and the anti-abortionists have called their movement an "abolitionist" one, affirming the humanity of a fertilized egg just as the earlier abolitionists affirmed the humanity of the slaves.\*

The main story in this debate, however, is not that there is a small anti-abortion current in the peace movement, or even that there is an anti-nuclear voice in the otherwise reactionary and militaristic New Right. It is that major left institutions viewed abortion as an open question, a matter of private choice rather than political principle. Why has an "openness" developed within the left on the issue of abortion? I think one of the most important reasons lies in the perception by much of the left that the success of the New Right stems from its emphasis on "family issues" such as abortion, the ERA, school busing, and the like. In different ways both DSOCers and Marxist-Leninists argue that the real "pro-family" politics can be found on the left, not the right, and that the left should not abandon the symbols of flag, church, or home without a struggle. Even Betty Friedan has recently announced a "second stage" of feminism, one which focuses on economic rights instead of sexual issues, conflicts between men and women, or the failures of the nuclear family. Reproductive rights, in this view, become what we used to call as "secondary contradiction," an important personal issue to be sure, but an obstacle to uniting the working class on the basis of a socialist program.

A recent event in the Boston area illustrates the prob-

\*Stacey Olikier, "Abortion and the Left," *Socialist Review* (March-April, 1981), pp. 71-94.



lems of alliances made on a single issue basis. The Massachusetts Tenants' Organization (MTO), a state-wide network of tenant organizations initiated by DSOC members, established the Boston Tenant Campaign Organization (BTCO) to support "pro-tenant" candidates in the recent Boston city council elections. A simple questionnaire was sent to all city council candidates, asking for their positions on rent control and condominium conversion. On the basis of their answers, six candidates received the BTCO's support. One was a former FBI agent, who fortunately was not elected. But partly because of BTCO's endorsement, Raymond Flynn was reelected with more votes than any other candidate. The media often referred to Flynn's tenant support, and noted that his strong showing made him a mayoral prospect in the years ahead.

Ray Flynn is also a racist and a reactionary. As a Boston member of the state legislature he was a leader of the anti-busing forces which opposed school desegregation. He is also the co-sponsor of legislation which would cut off state Medicaid payments for abortions. He is not merely an opponent of reproductive rights; he is a leader of the "anti-choice" forces in the state. As far as I can discover, the decision to support Flynn was made with little discussion and no opposition within BTCO. Yet to declare, as BTCO does, that Flynn was "good on tenant issues" and that his reelection was "a victory for tenants" is to unconsciously assume that "tenants" are white men, and to consciously decide that when reproductive rights conflict with rent control and condo conversion, abortion is personal, not political.

A less depressing example is the ongoing controversy in Mobilization for Survival over whether or not to have a position on reproductive rights, and what kind of position to have.\*\* In March, 1980, a small anti-nuclear, anti-abortion group called Pro-Lifers for Survival asked to join Mobe, which is a coalition of about 125 organizations. Boston Mobe opposed affiliation by the Pro-Lifers for Survival, and the issue was postponed until January 1981, when a resolution was introduced at a Mobe conference stating that any organization which agreed with Mobilization for Survival's four goals — zero nuclear weapons, ban nuclear power, stop the arms race, and meet human needs — could join. Members of the Feminist and Lesbian and Gay Task Forces of Mobe responded by introducing a strong resolution on sexual and reproductive freedom. The whole issue was again postponed until the Coordinating Committee meeting in April, when a strong resolution on reproductive freedom was passed with no dissent (see box).

Yet the matter is far from resolved. One of the most active parts of Mobilization for Survival has been the Religious Taskforce. This taskforce is particularly important in organizing for the Second Session on Disarmament at the UN, which will be held in June and is Mobe's major campaign for the spring. A Catholic organization in the religious taskforce has raised questions about the reproductive rights position, and has asked that the strong defense of abortion be qualified.

\*\*off our backs, April and June, 1981.

Mobilization for Survival statement on reproductive rights, April, 1981:

"The basic unifying political vision of the Mobilization for Survival is one that nourishes and sustains life and opposes all life-threatening forces. The Mobilization for Survival therefore supports reproductive and sexual freedom for all people. Above all, we support women's right to choose:

—safe and legal abortion free of economic constraints

—to bear children and raise them with adequate food, health care, education and love, regardless of race, class, marital status and sexual preference.

We support access to and information on the range of safe and effective birth control methods, recognizing the need to develop such contraceptive methods as will reduce the need for abortion.

We oppose:

—the criminalization of abortion

—sterilization abuse and the abuse of birth control as a method of forced population control, especially among the poor and minorities in this country as well as the people of third world countries.

There appear to be two main issues in contention: could the Mobe merely have a statement opposing the *criminalization* of abortion (rather than defending the right to an abortion); and should the organization support access to abortion for all by way of public funding? One possibility is a statement which acknowledges that there are minority and majority positions on abortion. What the consequences of such a position would be, and whether it would stabilize or merely postpone the conflict on this issue, are unclear.

Because abortion is the most prominent issue in the New Right's attack on women, and because the left has been reluctant to deal with sexual issues at all, an organization's position on reproductive rights will strongly affect the kinds of alliances and coalitions it can enter. And the kinds of coalitions we construct will determine what role reproductive rights will play in the peace movement, and what role the peace movement will play in the struggle for women's emancipation. As the peace movement grows, the decisions we make on the role of reproductive rights issues in forming coalitions will be of great significance. We should start now to insist that no coalition or alliance is possible in which the humanity and autonomy of one half of our movement is denied.

The purpose of the NEWSLETTER is to support and report on Resist's grants and fund raising activities. It also publishes short articles of general interest to the left. Subscriptions to the newsletter are \$5 per year.



# RESIST GRANTS — 1981

## PEACE AND ANTI-DRAFT

Coalition Opposing Registration and the Draft (Eugene, OR)  
Draft Information and Referral Center (Morgantown, WV)  
Gay/Lesbian Draft Counseling and Resistance Network (Los Angeles)  
Nuclear Education Project (Somerville, MA)  
Center for Disarmament Education (Baton Rouge, LA)  
Anchorage Draft Counseling Center  
People's Anti-War Mobilization (Boston)  
WIN Magazine (New York)  
Rocky Flats Coalition (Denver, CO)  
Venice/Santa Monica Draft Resistance (CA)  
War Resisters League — St. Louis  
Syracuse Peace Council  
War Resisters League — SE (Durham, NC)  
Cincinnati Coalition for Peace Education  
San Diego Committee Against Registration and the Draft  
Nukewatch (Madison, WI)  
Midwest Committee on Military Counseling (Chicago, IL)  
Registration Draft Media Project (Berkeley, CA)  
Children's Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (Plainfield, VT)  
Jobs With Peace (Boston, MA)  
New York Committee Against Registration and the Draft (NYC)  
Mobilization to Save the Heartland (St. Louis, MO)  
Stop Project ELF (Madison, WI)  
Peace Resource Center (San Diego, CA)  
Selective Service Law Panel (Los Angeles, CA)  
Vietnam Era Veterans, Inc. (Boston, MA)  
Clergy and Laity Concerned (Eugene, OR)

## THIRD WORLD SUPPORT WORK

Nicaragua Solidarity Committee (Boston, MA)  
MERIP Reports (New York)  
CISPES (Boston)  
Southern Africa magazine (New York)  
Committee of Solidarity with the People of Guatemala (Brooklyn)  
Central America Information Office (Boston, MA)  
Guatemala Teach-in (Washington, DC)  
Central America Task Force (Johnstown, PA)  
South Africa Military and Refugee Aid Fund (NYC)  
Oficina Legal del Pueblo Unido (San Juan, TX)

## ANTI-NUKE

Boston Clamshell Coalition  
Miners for Safe Energy (Lead, SD)

## ANTI-RACISM

Southern Students Activist Network (Atlanta, GA)  
Black and Proud Elementary School (Jackson, MS)  
United League of Holmes County (Lexington, MS)  
Those United to Fight Fascism (Columbus, OH)  
Martin Luther King Day Rally Coalition (Buffalo, NY)  
Black United Front (NYC)

## LABOR

Labor Self-Expression Group (Detroit)  
Farm Labor Organizing Committee (Toledo, OH)

## WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS

National Women's Health Network (Wash., DC)  
Women's International Resource Exchange (WIRE) Service (New York)  
Women Organizing for Occupational Safety and Health (Amherst, MA)  
Isis (Sunderland, MA)  
Women's History Research Center (Berkeley, CA)  
Feminist Union (New Haven, CT)  
Women's Pentagon Action — DC (Washington, DC)  
Women's Party for Survival (Tucson, AZ)  
Coalition for Basic Human Needs (Boston, MA)

## INFORMATION AND SUPPORT

Liberation News Service (NYC)  
Women's Media Coalition for the Women's Pentagon Action (Hadley, MA)  
*The New Paper* (Lynn, MA)  
Madame Binh Graphics Collective (Brooklyn, NY)  
Mountain Top Films, (Boston, MA)  
*Buffalo Newsletter*  
People's Office of Communication (Boston, MA)  
Alternate Image (Tucson, AZ)  
Cleveland Beacon (Cleveland, OH)  
Brush Fire Graphics (Boston, MA)  
Community Mailing Service (Philadelphia, PA)  
Urban Planning Aid (Boston, MA)  
Vocations for Social Change (Boston, MA)  
Collectavision (Northampton, MA)  
*Contra/Diction* (Boston, MA)

## OTHER

Leonard Peltier Support Group (Mohegan Lake, NY)  
Irish Solidarity Committee (Boston, MA)  
Committee Against Executions (Boston, MA)



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# GRANTS

**WOMEN'S PARTY FOR SURVIVAL** (PO Box 13595, Tucson, AZ 85732)

In 1980, Dr. Helen Caldicott founded the Women's Party for Survival. Her goal was to give people a way to work within the existing political system to end the nuclear arms race. Presently the organization has over 4000 members, men as well as women, and the national office in Watertown, Mass. has guided the formation of over fifty state and local chapters. The Tucson chapter was formed last summer. Its first activity was to spearhead a coalition which organized a "reception" for a Marine Corps Arms Fair. During October, they and the AFSC mailed out over 2000 letters asking people to participate in the national Call-In to Halt the Nuclear Arms Race. The group is now beginning a couple of new projects. One is a campaign of educational outreach to the general population in Tucson about the MX missile. The second is a petition campaign to induce the City Council to pass a Nuclear Freeze resolution. The Women's Party is only one of several organizations in the Southwest that Resist has heard from and funded in the last several months. In the past, we had received few applications from this region, especially for anti-military work. We take it as a hopeful sign that opposition to Reagan war plans is spreading far and wide, even to the heart of Moral Majority country.

**THE CLEVELAND BEACON** (PO Box 91093, Cleveland, OH 44101)

*The Beacon* is the year-old publication of the Cleveland-area New American Movement (NAM). In establishing it, NAM had as its primary goal to produce a readable, attractive, and non-rhetorical magazine which would be a forum through which activist organizations and individuals could share and debate their concerns, politics and experiences. But they also wished to reach beyond this constituency to an audience made up of people on the left-of-center, or even political, but who have been touched by progressive organizing in their unions, churches, or neighborhoods. *The Beacon* seems to split its coverage about equally between events of local and national importance. Recent issues have included articles by Staughton Lynd on Youngstown, Manning Marable on the National Black Independent Political Party and Eqbal Ahmad on the new cold war, as well as material on International Women's Day, Reaganomics, the Nestle's Boycott, and tenant issues. Radical history, and reviews of popular culture are also frequent subjects. Resist was impressed by both the design and literacy of the magazine and was pleased to be able to contribute to its support.

**BOSTON CLAMSHELL COALITION** (595 Mass. Ave., Cambridge, MA 02139)

"No radiation without representation" is the rallying cry of the Massachusetts Nuclear Referendum Campaign. As yet no tea parties have been planned to dramatize grievances, but the Campaign is meeting with great success in its effort to gather enough signatures to get this issue on the ballot in 1982. Canvassers report that even those who favor maintaining existing nuclear plants in the Bay State are willing to support the planned referendum which mandates voter approval before any new nuclear facilities can be built in Massachusetts. The referendum refers specifically to nuclear waste dumps as well as to nuclear plants and this may be one reason for its success. Toxic waste has been a hot issue in Massachusetts for several years and it seems likely that the nuclear waste issue will "heat" it up even more. Boston Clamshell, already well known for its efforts to stop work on the Seabrook nuclear plant in neighboring New Hampshire, has joined with other groups statewide to support this campaign. Clamshell is organizing the signature drive for southern Middlesex County, and Resist's grant went to support a staff person for two months.

**SAN DIEGO CARD** (PO Box 15195, San Diego, CA 92115)

San Diego County is home to Navy and Marine bases, naval air stations, and recruit training stations for both the Navy and Marines. The city of San Diego itself has long been dominated by conservative, pro-military views. Ronald Reagan chose San Diego for his final election-eve appearance because of the large demonstration of support he was assured before the television cameras. An organization which presents a challenge to the prevailing ideology of militarism is all the more significant and necessary in such a city, truly the belly of the monster. San Diego CARD is such an organization. In the two years of their existence they have distributed educational materials, organized many pickets and rallies, and leafletted at post offices during the weeks of draft registration, achieving a 40 percent non-registration rate by their efforts. Resist's grant went towards their most recent project: a massive high school leafletting campaign. The leaflet provided information to parents and students about government access to student directories, directories which could eventually be used to track down non-registrants. Students *can* request that their names be withheld from directories, but requests must be made within a limited time period. CARD planned to hand out the necessary privacy form and instructions along with the leaflet and hoped to coordinate a presence at all of the county's forty-one high schools.